

FOLLOWING FRANCIS REDFERN

BY

W. G. TORRANCE, M.A.

PART VI

**Uttoxeter Events and Persons
during the 17th and 18th Centuries**

Following

Francis

Redfern

IN THE LAST PART of the story of Uttoxeter, we included accounts of the social and economic conditions of citizens of various types in the 17th century. We recorded the business transactions of Thomas Salt, baker, whose house was where part of the premises of Messrs. G. Orme & Sons now stand ; we also related how his home was furnished, and how he and his neighbour Peter Lightfoot agreed and disagreed on various matters. At the same time we gave the facts about such Uttoxeter worthies as John Spencer, who became Librarian of Sion College, and of Dr. John Lightfoot, son of Rev. Thomas Lightfoot, Vicar of Uttoxeter from 1617 until his death in 1653.

Redfern devoted Ch. VI (2nd Edn.) to give the "Lives of Distinguished Persons, either Natives of, or having been Residents in Uttoxeter". We shall refer to most of these citizens later, but it is perhaps more appropriate that we should continue our account of the inhabitants during or following the Civil War.

Some account of the Mastergent family was given in our last Part, and it was noted that Katharine Mastergent came from the same family in North Staffordshire as Elizabeth, the wife of Rev. Thomas Lightfoot. Her brother (and executor) was Ralph Bagnall, who seems to have come to reside in Uttoxeter about the same time as his brother-in-law, the Vicar, and who at one time lived, like Thomas Mastergent, at the "Olde Swanne, Bear Hill," as the present Market Square was then known.

Redfern put on record that at this place stood gallows, pillory, cucking stool and a pond. There must have been a spring or well on the site of the present conduit building erected in place of an old cover for the well. The surplus water must have helped to fill the Bear Hill pond, and then drained away to lower level probably down Bridge Street, either to the Brook or to some land below the Churchyard, which even in recent times was often marshy.

One field there up to the 20th century was known as the "Wilgs", as it was named in the 17th century ; and towards the present industrial site by the former Churnet Valley Railway was the "Amber" lands, i.e. watery land. By 1900 this was a good place for skating in frosty weather ; the field was covered to a depth of about one foot in dirty water, but safe even on thin ice ; we called it the "Floatings".

The old conduit, Redfern records, was built by Mr. Garner in 1780 ; it was surmounted by a sun-dial, with Latin inscriptions, given by Redfern on p. 419 (2nd Edn.) and translated for him by an unknown person — "*Mentiri non est meum*" "I do not lie" ; "*Fugio, Fuge*" "I flee, flee thou" ; "*Moriendo vivo*" "In dying, I live" ; and "*Resurgam*" "I shall rise again". One may conjecture that these translations were the work either of Samuel Bentley, the Uttoxeter poet who died in 1803, or of his teacher, the Rev. G. Malbon, Vicar of Uttoxeter. In his poem on the River Dove, Bentley acknowledged his indebtedness to Malbon for his classical knowledge.

Perhaps the significance of these Latin phrases in relation to the passing of the shadow across the sun dial could be expressed more freely and definitely thus : — "My marking of the hours can never be false". "Time flies. Do thou move as rapidly". "I pass on, but my shadow still moves over the dial when the sun shines". "I shall return with the sunlight".

On the present building there is a replica of one side of the Johnson Memorial at Lichfield, showing his Penance in Uttoxeter Market Place.

Some years ago it was pointed out that the date on this was uncertain ; we do not know (except that it recalled for

Johnson the fiftieth anniversary of his refusal to take the place of his father at the Market Bookstall) the exact date — Redfern stated it was 1784 — but that was the year of Johnson's death. If his refusal was due to a mistaken pride in being a student at Oxford, then "fifty years later" must have been 1777 or 1778, for his stay at Oxford was limited to two years, 1727 /28. The date now given is circa 1777, i.e. about 1777.

With regard to Bear Hill, during recent excavations of the roadway between the War Memorial and the Market Place, a large brick culvert was revealed. Its existence was not entirely unknown, for the late Mr. John Chell, builder, spoke of it at the time of the erection of the War Memorial, which stands on the site of an "island" of four shops and houses. The removal of these has improved visibility for traffic at the junction of Bridge Street, Church Street, and the Market Place.

The culvert, now covered up, lies several feet below the road surface. It may have connected the buildings, or drainage from the buildings, on the west side of Market Square with those removed to provide space for the War Memorial.

The culvert was found to be well built and arched over ; it had supported all kinds of heavy traffic passing over the road. It is constructed of old bricks smaller than the modern bricks which are nine inches long, four and a half inches wide, and three inches deep. These smaller bricks were hand-made locally many years ago, and the brickyard excavations can still be traced all over the Heath, along the New Road, and even at Dove Bank. Clay deposits were plentiful, and brick making was an important industry for Uttoxeter. The earliest brickmaker I have been able to trace was John Clarke, who died at Uttoxeter in 1679. Charcoal from the neighbouring woodlands was first used for firing, but the industry expanded considerably when coal was used instead.

I have found in old records of the Duchy of Lancaster that as late as 1781 there were reports made to the Duchy Court that unauthorised digging of clay had occurred in Needwood Forest.

The beds of clay for brick-making were also to be found between Uttoxeter and Leigh ; the remains of one such place can be seen at Bank Top, where a pool of water, deep in places, still exists. Drain pipes were also made there.

The last brickworks in the district were near Rocester Station, and the site now forms part of the J.C.B. works.

This divergence from the Lightfoot story and the account of their relatives may be excused, as most of the above detailed information was compiled with characteristic industry by Redfern.

We will now take up the story of Thomas Lightfoot, Vicar of Uttoxeter from 1617 - 1653. He was connected by marriage with the Bagnall (or Bagenhall) family from near Stoke-on-Trent, and had been Curate at Fenton before 1617. Redfern's account of the Lightfoots is incomplete in many details, and not quite accurate in some places, e.g. on p. 329 (2nd Edn.) Redfern begins to write about Dr. John Lightfoot, second son of the Vicar, but proceeds to describe the character and work of Thomas Lightfoot ; I have discovered that most of this paragraph was taken by Redfern from a book by Strype, who was writing about John Lightfoot from notes supplied by Michael Edge, who was Vicar of Uttoxeter from 1658 and knew the family well.

Redfern does not seem to have noticed that his account begins with the son John, and then proceeds (after only two lines) to describe the father. Redfern states that Mrs. Elizabeth Lightfoot (wife of Thomas, mother of John and Peter, and sister of Katharine Mastergent) had relatives distinguished for military service in Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, but the family was distinguished in North Staffordshire in the earlier years of Queen Elizabeth, for the Duchy of Lancaster records in the 14th year of the reign, and again in the 19th year, state that Sir Ralph Bagnall, Knight, claimed the right to mine coal on Duchy land near Newcastle-under-Lyme. The defendants against the claim were Henry Mayer and John Machin (names still to be found in the district).

Redfern also relates how Thomas Lightfoot was attacked for the way in which he conducted Church services by a Mr. Heming, who is described by Redfern as occupying some sort of pulpit in Uttoxeter ; Redfern also mentioned Mr. Heming on p. 245 (2nd Edn.), saying that "we have no particulars of the religious sect . . . over whom Mr. Heming, the controversialist, exercised the functions of a minister". Redfern may have been correct in assuming that Mr. Heming had a number of followers (his "saints" as the "Battle with a Wasp's Nest" describes them), but the facts are that Mr. Heming, undoubtedly a fanatic, was actually curate at Uttoxeter in 1648, and later moved to become Rector of Rolleston, 1654 - 1657.

The booklet "A Battle with a Wasp's Nest", published in London, was a reply to Heming's attack upon Thomas Lightfoot. Though the author was said to have been Peter Lightfoot, the Vicar's third son, it contained extracts from a Sermon by Bishop Latimer, and from a book "Histriomastix" by Prynne, the Puritan Lawyer, Member of Parliament, who was so cruelly persecuted by Laud.

Allibone says in his Dictionary of authors, 1871, that the pamphlet was actually written by Dr. John Lightfoot but ascribed to his brother Peter.

Dr. John may have wished to avoid religious disputations, and Allibone may have considered that John was more likely than Peter to have known about Latimer and Prynne. Dr. John, as we shall see, gained considerable advancement at Cambridge during the Protectorate, and seems to have been held in esteem by both sides in the Civil War. In fact he offered to resign his appointments at the Restoration in 1660, but King Charles II would not accept this — perhaps because John Lightfoot was supported by Gilbert Sheldon, who later in 1663 reached the rank of Archbishop of Canterbury ; he was born at Stanton, near Ellastone, and must have known John Lightfoot when the latter was a prominent clergyman in London, having come, like Sheldon, from Staffordshire.

Redfern mentions all five of Thomas Lightfoot's sons, stating that the eldest, Thomas, was the only one put to a

trade, and that his burial could not be traced. But he was still alive in 1642, when his daughter Mary was baptized. What his particular trade was, is not known, but as his uncle, Thomas Smith, mentioned by his aunt Katharine Mastergent, in her will, had a Mercer's shop in Uttoxeter, it is possible that young Thomas Lightfoot was employed there, though we have no exact record of this.

There is another interesting entry in Uttoxeter Church Register, dated February 1633 /34. It records the baptism of Thomas, son of Thomas Lightfoot and his wife Elizabeth. From this it seems that Thomas the Vicar's eldest son had married a lady bearing the same name as his own mother. Their marriage is registered on April 27th, 1630, and their first child, Sarah, was baptized in 1631 ; another daughter, Rebecca, was born in 1632, and a son, John, was born in 1636.

It seems therefore that the Thomas Lightfoot III, son of Thomas and Elizabeth, who was buried on May 2nd, 1635, was a son of Thomas Lightfoot II, and grandson of Thomas the Vicar.

Another rather puzzling entry is for February 7th, 1632 /33, showing that Roberta, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Lightfoot, was buried ; her age is not given, so it is just possible that she was the daughter of Rev. Thomas Lightfoot and his wife Elizabeth ; the latter was buried on January 28th, 1636, and Redfern noted this when describing a memorial to Rev. T. Lightfoot and his wife, on p. 227 of 2nd Edn.

Dr. John Lightfoot was the second son ; before relating his life story it may be well to mention the remaining three sons. Peter, the third son, has often been mentioned in this history ; we have no record of his education, and Redfern's description of him as a Physician rests on Strype's account, in which Peter is said to have been a "practical" physician. There is no record of his licensing as a physician by the Diocese of Lichfield (a necessity at that time) and this omission cannot be ascribed to Civil War disturbances, for Peter was about 38 years of age when war broke out and would almost certainly have been "in practice" by that time. The manorial survey of 1629 shows that by that time (with some details added

later) Peter occupied about 80 acres of land in Utttoxeter ; the parish accounts record that he was paid by the Parliamentary army for the use of his team of horses for transport services during the war. It must have been exceptional for a strong team of horses to have escaped seizure by either side during the war, but we have no evidence to show how Peter's horses escaped this, whether he had some special influence, or indeed if he supported either side in the war. On another occasion, actually in 1646, after Naseby (1645), an application for an augmentation of the Vicarage was made on behalf of Utttoxeter Parish by Peter Lightfoot ; the expenses of his journey to London for this purpose amounted to £5, and this was recorded in the accounts of the parish ; we do not know how much of this, if any, was needed for legal fees. In 1646 his brother John was near London, holding the living of Much Munden in Hertfordshire. (He was also Master of St. Catherine's, Cambridge, and a member of the Assembly of Divines, so that Peter need not have been lonely during his visit. Indeed, his quest for the augmentation may have been aided by these circumstances).

We do, however, know certain facts about Peter ; he must have had access to manorial records (perhaps through a local lawyer's office) and he copied the Survey which had been made by Parsons and Birch in 1629, adding details of certain changes in land holding at a later date — Redfern thought that Peter had made the whole survey in 1658. Peter was also said to have made the old map in Utttoxeter Church in 1658, and the names of those citizens who had various tenements later than 1629 confirm that the map is later than the original survey ; for instance, all the land held by Richard Startin in 1629 is set down on the map as belonging to Richard's son Timothy. We also know that during the Civil War, Timothy was a Royalist, and some of his property, after being confiscated by Parliament, was restored to his wife (see pp. 29 and 30 of Part IV of this work).

Peter Lightfoot seems not only to have had access to various legal documents concerning Utttoxeter, but we owe to him their preservation ; thus he preserved in detail the account of the dispute between Utttoxeter freeholders and Duchy of Lancaster officials about the common land on the High Wood. He also preserved a copy of the Utttoxeter Market

Charter granted in 1252, both in Latin and English ; he transcribed a number of wills, or parts of wills, dealing with Uttoxeter, and to him we owe the record of the rules made by Thomas Alleyne in 1558 for his Grammar Schools at Stevenage, Stone, and Uttoxeter.

We do not know about his schooldays, and as John was taught by a good schoolmaster at Moreton Green, near Congleton, who became Head of Repton School, it may be that Thomas the Vicar was not able to afford large expenses for education and so chose the son who showed the greater promise, for John entered Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1617. Redfern attributed a first-class knowledge of Latin to Peter ; this may well be correct if Peter passed through Alleyne's Grammar School. Redfern also credited Peter with the composition of a number of Latin memorials in Uttoxeter Church, including those to Peter's father, to Sir William Milward of Eaton, and to John Archbold. These are given in full with English translations (on pp. 226 et seq. in the 2nd Edn.). Another memorial in Latin, found in Thomas Lightfoot's study after his death, was his own work, but Redfern seems to have found no help in translating it. I therefore give a free translation below as it seems to have been transcribed by someone ignorant of Latin ; e.g. *tendam* is an obvious error for *tandem* (*at length*). We know that Redfern began to teach himself Latin, but had to give up the attempt. Occasionally he quotes a Latin phrase, and gives a translation which, it seems, must have been provided by a friend (an instance of this can be found in the preface of the 2nd edition).

Here is a free translation of Rev. Thomas Lightfoot's Epitaph, by himself.

Thomas Lightfoot

One whose voyage through life has now
ended, gives a message to his friends who
still remain on earth.

BEHOLD, my bark, tossed by many a storm, has at last found its haven of rest ; it recks nothing now of rock-bound coasts, nor of the thrashing waves of Time ; for indeed the

world is an ocean, wherein each voyager is carried to and fro in his vessel, that is, his body.

The harbour which we strive to reach is Heaven and the favourable breeze which takes us gently shorewards is the very Spirit of God. Therefore, ye happy band of mariners, cast off, and make for port, leaving astern the terrible losses of the raging sea.

But remember : it is ordained that you may only reach your haven after your ship has been marked by the buffeting waves, the damage sustained in the tempests of Life.

Redfern's description of Peter as the author of all these Latin inscriptions was based on statements made by Strype, from information given to him by Michael Edge, Vicar of Uttoxeter from 1658 onwards. Redfern, without stating his source, used the actual words of Strype : "Peter was a very ingenious man and practical physician in Uttoxeter, and besides his art he was of great usefulness in that town, and often in commissions for ending differences". But Redfern omitted some significant words used by Strype when describing the wall inscriptions — presumably from information supplied by Rev. Michael Edge. Strype mentions these inscriptions with the words "*composed as it seems* by Peter Lightfoot". It appears that Michael Edge was not absolutely certain about Peter's compositions. On the other hand, Peter had a fairly good education, and his father was a good Latin scholar, though we do not know anything of Thomas' own schooling ; but as he only entered Holy Orders in 1603, the year in which his second son John was born, we would indeed wish to know something of his career before he became Curate of Fenton and what led him to become a clergyman.

Still, we can well understand that though he did not send Peter to Cambridge, he may well have found time to teach him at home, perhaps in addition to sending him to Thomas Alleyne's Grammar School in Bridge Street.

We have previously mentioned many episodes in Peter's career ; to these we can also add that he was Churchwarden to his father in 1637 /38.

His marriage is not entered in the Church Register, but on February 5th, 1632, we find that Ellen, daughter of Peter Lightfoot and his wife Dorothea, was baptized. We do not know Dorothea's second name, but among Mastergent papers I have found reference to a Dorothea Aboll ; this family owned land at the upper end of Bridge Street and were therefore neighbours of the Mastergents, and later of Ralph Bagnall, Peter's uncle, and of Peter himself when he followed Ralph Bagnall at the Old Swan, Bear Hill.

On p. 232 of Redfern's 2nd Edn. we find an English version of the memorial to John Archbold, who died in 1638 at the age of 103. Redfern ascribed this memorial to Peter Lightfoot, and the second line indicates that the verse was composed by John Archbold's son-in-law. Both the authorship of John Archbold's memorial, and the surname of Peter's wife are thus uncertain.

Redfern's reference to John Archbold's death and advanced age are confused. He gives both 1619, and on another page 1629, as the year of John Archbold's death ; actually both are wrong ; the Church register gives July 5th, 1638, as the date of John Archbold's burial, adding that he was 104 years old ; Redfern gives 103 years as his age.

In his first edition Redfern made a number of references to John Archbold and his relatives ; most of these were omitted in the 2nd Edition, but there is no reason given for the omission. The survey of 1629 states that John Archbold owned the Old Crown Inn ; this later passed to Katharine Mastergent ; it was where the Uttoxeter Agricultural Co's shop now stands.

Sad to relate, the little daughter Ellen was buried on August 19th, 1634. Peter had three other children ; one, Mary, died young, but two girls survived and married into

two families, Woodroffe and Tomkinson. These names occur in several old records of that period. Both Ellen and Ann are mentioned in his will, which was made not long before his death in 1677 — not 1671 as Redfern stated. At first I feared that we had no record of his children or how he left his property, which was mainly inheritance from his aunt, Katharine Mastergent. We have already quoted from several legal documents concerning his house at Bear Hill, once occupied by Thomas Mastergent, then by Ralph Bagnall, Peter's uncle, who died soon after Katherine Mastergent. Peter and his sisters inherited legacies from Katharine's estate ; in the margin of the copy of the 1629 Survey of Uttoxeter Manor we find mention of these ; the marginal notes must have been added after the death of Katharine in 1646, and were almost certainly the work of Peter Lightfoot. In the margin of the original 1629 survey it states : Katherine Mastergent bought nearly all the estate of her brother-in-law Thomas Mastergent in 1631 ; she was already a widow, but was sufficiently wealthy to pay £200 cash (quite a large sum at that date). The note added to the list of Thomas Mastergent's lands says, "Thomas Mastergent sold of these lands one Burgage called the Maypole to Mr. Cotton (later he became Sir Rowland Cotton). The rest he sold to Katharine Mastergent, who sold the rest as above said and disposed them to her kindred. She gave one Burgage to Anne Chamberlain ; Thomas Alkin bought one and a croft ; Ralph Bagnall hath one called the Old Swan, and Richard Middleton bought the half Burgage for Mary Lightfoot." (This reference to Richard Middleton is not clear ; his name does not occur in the index of the survey, but this is an error of omission as he is later credited with two closes in Salter's Lane, i.e. Slade Lane or Park Street. It is notable that the Survey mentions Thomas Middleton as holding 23 acres in two closes lying on the north of "Counsley" Lane, which are shown in the margin as having passed to Peter Lightfoot, with a further note that "it did belong to Kingston Rectorie". Besides the above property Katharine Mastergent is set down as holding one close of meadow called the old poole or pool meadow, containing nine acres, which (the margin states) had passed to Peter Lightfoot ; it is mentioned as his legacy in Katharine's will, and the old church map marks it as Peter's land adjoining the brook and Pinfold Lane. But we have no record to show why Richard Middleton and Thomas Alkin were involved in Lightfoot affairs.

Peter's will, which is in the Record Office at Lichfield Library, gives a few details which are intriguing ; his wife had died in August 1643 ; it is clear, however, that his house at Bear Hill was more than just his home ; he calls it "my messuage house in two dwellings divided in Uttoxeter aforesaid commonly called the Old Swan, and which myself, John Woodroffe and Mrs. Barker do now inhabit and dwell". This dwelling house, consisting of "all houses, edifices, barns, stables, buildings, rooms, backsides, gardens, hereditaments and appurtenances", he bequeathed "to my daughter Ellen Woodroffe and the heirs of her body, begotten or to be begotten ; and for want of such heirs, to my daughter Ann Tomkinson and to the heirs of her body begotten or to be begotten ; and, for default of such issue, to the right heirs of me the said Peter Lightfoot for ever." He goes on to mention that he has already settled upon his two daughters, Ellen and Ann, the five messuages, tenements, and dwelling houses in Balance Street, occupied by Antony Norris, Widow Jackson, Thomas Merry, Elizabeth Carter, and Hugh Whieldon ; also one close of pasture in the Botham field (i.e. along the modern Ashbourne Road) except one acre which belonged to the poor ; also one and a half closes of land in the Netherwood. He next directs in his will that if it should happen that any son of Ellen Woodroffe should inherit part of the Old Swan, or the premises mentioned in the above settlement, within four years of coming into possession he must pay to the other children or child of Peter's two daughters then surviving the sum of three score pounds equally divided.

If Ellen Woodroffe's issue should fail, then the Old Swan must descend to Ann Tomkinson or her heirs." He bequeaths the dwelling-house inhabited by Mrs. Barker (or Barber) to the children who inherit the three score pounds already mentioned. Another messuage which Peter owned, occupied by Richard Smith, with three roods of meadow in the North Wood, was left to his daughter Ann Tomkinson.

Besides these legacies, he bequeathed to his five grandchildren, Jane Tomkinson, Peter Tomkinson, Edward Tomkinson, Mary Woodroffe and Ann Woodroffe five pounds each to be paid within four years after his death by his executors ; if necessary the money is to be obtained by leasing or selling the Old Swan.

All the residue of his estate is to be equally divided between his daughters Ellen and Ann. He adds that they and his beloved friend Christopher Chamberlain are to be his executors. The will is witnessed by G. Bowyer, Thomas Newton, and William Newton. A codicil is added which makes the reader suspect that Ellen and Ann may not have been happy sisters to each other, for the codicil directs that the moiety of "Toyne Close" which he retained for himself when settling that property upon Ellen, shall become the property of Ann.

It continues, "In case Ellen and her heirs do refuse to release the same, or in case Ann or her heirs be ousted or dispossessed by Ellen or her heirs, then my will is that £40 shall be raised by my executors out of the rent of my house called the Old Swan, or any two of them, and paid to Ann Tomkinson or her heirs, and in case the said executors shall fail or neglect the raising of the same, the said Ann Tomkinson or her heirs shall enter and enjoy the said Old Swan with the hereditaments and appurtenances thereof until the said £40 be fully paid."

We have no evidence about the disagreement between the two daughters, but it certainly seems that Peter thought that there might be some dispute, and that possibly at least Ellen might be responsible for this; he therefore arranged that Ellen should be penalised if indeed she caused trouble.

We gather from Michael Edge's report to Strype that it was a well-known characteristic of Peter to settle disputes, and in the case of his own daughters he would naturally be anxious to ensure a settlement of their differences.

There is probably some significance in Peter's sharing his house with the widow of the Barber Surgeon already noted in Peter's Will. This does suggest some foundation for Strype's saying that Peter was a "practical physician" ; Peter certainly gave house-room to the widow of the Barber Surgeon. Against this is the fact that Peter never describes himself in any document as Physician, but always as a "Gentleman" ;

indeed as Redfern relates on p. 344 of 2nd Edn., he claimed the right to armorial bearings, along with George Bowyer (a witness to Peter's Will) and others ; these claims were all disallowed by a Heraldic assize at Stafford in 1663 /4. If indeed, Peter was son-in-law to John Archbold — which is improbable — it may be that his claim to armorial bearings came from the Archbold connection ; but Peter's brother John, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, did have his coat of arms ; Redfern notes that this exists on several documents and letters in the Bodleian and at the British Museum (p. 332 of 2nd Edn.).

Another difficult point is that we have an inventory of the goods of Richard Bullock, Barber Surgeon, made by Roger Warner (a member of an old family living for centuries at Bramshall) and Antony Alkins (his family were prominent tradesmen in the town in the latter half of the 17th century). This inventory mentions only one bed — and that a small one ; we are tempted to ask whether the names Bullock, Barker, and Barber have become confused in some records etc. ; also whether the lady living in Peter Lightfoot's house was the widow of a different Barber surgeon.

We must add, also, that Roger Warner's family had occupied the old Manor House at Bramshall for several hundred years ; Lawrence Dawson (mentioned above) was related to them ; the last of the family was the wife of the Uttoxeter architect Thomas Fradgley in the 20th century ; the Alkins were the chief leather merchants, and the wills of John Alkins (1672) and Thomas Alkins (1678) are extant ; Redfern mentions, too, that as late as 1795 one of the family was a musician who composed an anthem on the occasion of a celebration in memory of a national fast (the words being supplied by Samuel Bentley, the Uttoxeter Poet).

An entry in the Uttoxeter Church Register on June 7th 1654 states that Thomas Alkins and Mary Lightfoot were married. Mary Lightfoot might have been Peter's sister, for whom (according to a marginal note in the Uttoxeter Survey of 1629) Richard Middleton bought half a burgage from the estate of Katharine Mastergent. She may, however, have been of the next generation, niece of Peter.

Richard Bullock, therefore, was friendly with citizens who were rather of upper class than lower.

We may perhaps guess that some utensils listed in the inventory (e.g. porringers) were in use both for household and professional purposes ; and in the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to decide if there was some collaboration, or even partnership, between Peter Lightfoot and Richard Bullock.

There were two other sons of the Vicar Thomas of whom we have some knowledge, Josiah and Samuel. (In passing we may note that each of the five sons was given a Biblical name at baptism). Of these two, Josiah was ordained as student by the Bishop of Lichfield on January 16th, 1630 /31. He seems to have been at Trinity College, Cambridge (Venn). He became Canon of Ashley, being Curate from 1631 - 1676, holding this under the nominal Rector, his brother John. (John himself had a son Josiah, who matriculated at St. Catherine's, Cambridge, in 1670, took his B.A. 1673 /74, and followed his uncle Josiah at Ashley in 1676. He remained only a short time, dying in 1683).

The youngest of Thomas Lightfoot's sons, Samuel, entered Clare College, Cambridge, in June 1628 from Repton School. He transferred to Christ's in February 1628 /29 and became M.A. in 1635. Like his elder brother Josiah, he is described by Venn as becoming Canon of Ashley, but no further connection with Ashley is known ; the two Josiah's (nephew and uncle) acted as Curates to Dr. John Lightfoot until the last-named died in 1675.

To return to the career of John, the second son of Vicar Thomas, we recall that his father sent him to school at what appears to have been a private school just over the Cheshire border at Moreton Green, the master being Mr. Whitehead, who later became Headmaster of Repton School. John Lightfoot must have shown early promise, for in 1617 at the age of 15 he entered Christ's College, Cambridge ; it is perhaps of interest to note that John Milton followed John Lightfoot to that College eight years later ; and as John Lightfoot passed the period of the Protectorate between Cambridge and London, he must have been aware of the Latin Secretary whose loss of eyesight was almost certainly due in part to his clerical work for Parliament

John Lightfoot's studies were chiefly Classical, and he was said to have been an excellent and promising orator. After taking his B.A. in 1621, he taught at Repton for two years, and took holy orders in 1623, when he became Curate at Stone, moving to Norton-in-Hales, near Market Drayton, and was appointed Chaplain to Sir Rowland Cotton's household. This gentleman is shown on the old Church map to have been owner of the land to the north of the Flats ; he was the son of a London merchant, and at an early age had become a remarkable Hebrew scholar. (Hebrew was to be found in the curriculum of many English schools at that time). John Lightfoot had begun Hebrew study in his schooldays, but had neglected it while at Cambridge. Under the influence of his patron he took up this study again, and made it his chief accomplishment. We are told that when Sir Rowland moved to London (where his brother Sir Allen Cotton was Lord Mayor) John Lightfoot also went and studied at Sion College. He had in 1628 married Joyce, daughter of William Crompton, and widow of George Copwood of Dilhorne. The Crompton family had close connection with Thomas Alleyne, founder of Uttoxeter, Stone, and Stevenage Grammar Schools, though the exact relationship is obscure (a William Crompton and his wife received funeral rings at Thomas Alleyne's burial in 1558).

In 1630 Sir Rowland Cotton obtained for John Lightfoot the living of Ashley, not Ashby as Redfern states, and John built for himself in the Rectory garden a study where he continued his interest in Hebrew.

There seems to have been some connection of the Lightfoot family with Ashley, as the register at Ashley Church records in 1608 the baptism of Thomas, son of Humphrey and Anne Lightfoot ; but we have no evidence to show what the connection, if any, could have been. However, it is curious to find a Thomas Lightfoot of Ashley contemporary with Thomas Lightfoot of Fenton ; and we have already noted mention of Peter Lightfoot's daughter Ann in his will made at Uttoxeter in 1671. There is also a curious entry in the Ashley register of September 13th 1617, that Dr. John Overall, Bishop, held his triennial visitation at Uttoxeter. One wonders how Uttoxeter church affairs should have been so recorded.

Another record of John Lightfoot's career, as mentioned above, tells that he was Curate of Stone in 1628, was married in the same year, and was, at least temporarily, living at Hornsey, London, having followed Rowland Cotton thither in order to study at Sion College. He was in Uttoxeter in 1630 before his appointment as Rector of Ashley, but we have no details of this visit (or was it a short residence while awaiting his move to Ashley?). The Ashley register gives on April 25th, 1631, "John, son of John Lightfoot, Rector, and Joyce his wife, baptized", and again on April 20th 1633, we find the baptism of Athanasius, son of John and Joyce Lightfoot.

The copy of the Uttoxeter Survey of 1629 used by Redfern (who thought its date was 1658) has a marginal note that Mr. William Cotton, father of Sir Rowland, had bought land in Uttoxeter : "One field late Lambert's, now held by Francis Morrice", also "land between the Heath and Stramshall" containing 88 acres, called the Great Park ; i.e. the present "Parks" on the New Road. Another entry in the register at Ashley Church records the death of Sir Rowland Cotton in August 1634, obviously in John Lightfoot's words :- "Here weep, reader, there has now died well nigh the ornament and wonder of this age. Today in Norton-under-Hales Church in the County of Shropshire was buried the most noble Sir Rowland Cotton of Bellaport in the same County, a Golden Knight, a man of unexampled fame and notable beyond imitation, in whom amazing learning, invincible courage, immeasurable nobility, unheard of hospitality, astonishing love of his country, most sweetly attended upon piety hardly to be equalled. He honoured all the clergy, but especially with a more than a fatherly love John Lightfoot, Rector of this Church of Ashley, in the reciprocal embraces of whose arms he wished to die, and did die. Now at length here weep, reader. There has died the lord of the greater part of this town, and the Patron of the Church of Ashley, father of the poor, friend of the virtuous." All of this may seem extravagant to a present day reader, but it does show that John Lightfoot did acknowledge what he owed to his patron.

There seems to have been an error in the register about this period. We have recorded the baptism of Athanasius, son of John and Joyce Lightfoot on April 20th 1633, and we now find on June 4th 1635 the baptism of Anastasius Cotton

Jackson, son of John Lightfoot, Rector of this Parish, and Joyce his wife. This must be the Anastasius Cotton Jackson Lightfoot, B.A., St. Catherine's, 1654, 3rd son of John Lightfoot (B.A. 1617), Rector of Ashley, Staffs. ; born Ashley 28th May 1635, School Merchant Taylors, M.A. 1658 ; ordained Priest (Ardfert) 10th July 1657 ; Vicar of Thundbridge, Herts, 1664 ; (all this is recorded in Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*). What happened to Athanasius (1633 above) we do not know ; John, the eldest son, also went to St. Catherine's in 1651, graduated B.A. 1653 /4 and M.A. 1658, Minister of Codicote, Herts, 1652. The Ashley Register records the baptisms of Sarah, daughter of John and Joyce Lightfoot (1637), Thomas, son of John and Joyce (1639) ; also "sermon delivered at St. Paul's Cross, London, on Nov. 3rd, 1639, his text being St. Matthew ch. VIII verse 2 : "And behold, there came a leper and worshipped him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean."

From the book compiled by John Spencer of Uttoxeter, Librarian at Sion College, we find that he heard John Lightfoot, a member of the Assembly of Divines, preach before the House of Commons. He had left Ashley wholly in charge of his brother Josiah in 1642, and had taken the living of St. Bartholomew's near the Exchange ; he devoted himself almost entirely to the study of Hebrew writings and was recognised as one of the greatest Hebrew scholars in Western Europe ; writing of John Lightfoot many years later, the historian Edward Gibbon said, "By constant reading of the Rabbis he became almost a Rabbin himself." And the famous Dr. Arnold called him "an admirable illustrator of obscure passages in the Scriptures." Dr. Adam Clarke, a Hebrew Scholar himself and colleague of John Wesley, stated, "On Biblical criticism I consider Lightfoot the first of all English writers".

He had published as early as 1629 his first book on "Miscellanies, Christian and Judaical", and in 1642 "New Observations upon the Book of Genesis". He was a member of the Westminster Assembly of 1642, and is said to have been inclined towards the Presbyterian views then advocated ; but he also argued against the extreme Puritans who wished to abolish the celebration of Christmas Day. He was appointed to the living of Much Munden, Hertfordshire, in 1643, and

devoted himself conscientiously to his parish, though he was by then Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, later St. Catherine's College. In 1655 he became Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, having received the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1652. He does not seem to have taken a conspicuous part in the religious differences which became acute during the Protectorate, but he assisted in the publication of the Polyglot Bible 1654 - 1657 ; this was the London form of several such Bibles printed in different countries ; John Lightfoot, with his wide knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, was well equipped for this work. His many writings of this kind were mainly published after his death, which happened at Ely in 1675.

At the Restoration he had offered to resign the various posts which he held during the Protectorate, but Charles II did not accept this, possibly due to the influence of Archbishop Sheldon, who must, as a Staffordshire man from Stanton, near Ellastone, have known John Lightfoot personally.

We may judge what his reputation as a profound religious writer was by the fact that after his death, collected editions of his works were published in 1684, 1686, 1699, and 1700 ; we have also noted observations of his work made by distinguished men. Two interesting gifts or bequests have been discovered in recent years — in a copy of a small book "The Martyrdom of Charles I" in the Salt Library, on the fly-leaf, there is in John Lightfoot's handwriting his name as the owner, and a note giving the book to a friend who was at Gray's Inn ; even more interesting is the bequest he made "of his oriental books to Harvard College, U.S.A." ; this was found by the late S. A. H. Burne in the margin of a printed copy of a sermon by John Lightfoot (1645) the record having been made by a former owner of the book.

The interest maintained in John Lightfoot's writings is shown by the publication in 1822 (i.e. nearly 150 years after his death) of 13 volumes by Rev. J. R. Pitman on the Life and Work of John Lightfoot ; Rev. Michael Edge, who followed Lawrence Dawson as Vicar of Uttoxeter in 1658, and later moved to Yoxall, also provided Strype with information about Uttoxeter Church and the Lightfoot family ; Strype printed "The Remains of John Lightfoot and Preface" in 1700.

The general religious attitude of both John Lightfoot and his father is shown by their obedience to Parliamentary regulations during the Protectorate, but Thomas Lightfoot, as we have seen, was attacked by the fanatical Heming because he did not adopt extreme Puritanical views.

When in 1662 all Clergy who did not agree to the restoration of the Episcopal Prayer Book were deprived of their livings (in his diary Pepys gives a moving account of the last address of the Vicar of his own church) the date 1662 marks the real division between Anglicans and Nonconformists. John Lightfoot conformed, though he had once been a member of the Assembly of Divines ; yet no fewer than almost two thousand rectors and vicars were driven out with no compensation or pension. We have already noted the beginning of this dissent in the Uttoxeter district, and the organisation of the Quaker followers of George Fox has left Uttoxeter with the remarkable meeting house and small graveyard in Carter Street, where Samuel Botham, father of Mary Howitt, was buried.

In a previous part I have recorded that meetings of Puritans were held in Uttoxeter area both before and increasingly after the Civil War ; thanks to research by Mrs. J. W. A. Dunncliff one centre is known to have been on the premises of the Dudley family, shown on the old Church map to have been in Carter Street, opposite to the entrance to Stone Rd. ; but in later years Redfern, in Ch. V of 2nd Edn. recorded that groups of Dissenters (Quakers, Presbyterians, and Independents) worshipped in several different parts of the town ; also that Mr. Heath, of Tean, conveyed to the Society of Friends a small area behind the field on which the present Stramshall Church was built in 1852, to be a burial ground for Quakers. Redfern knew Stramshall well (his wife came from that village) but it seems that the occupier of the small piece of land knew nothing of this, for Redfern states that digging for marl was begun, and only ceased when they found two lead coffins ; they cut these up and sold them ; it would seem that the plot of ground was allowed to become part of the field, and with the lapse of time still remains so. All these public arrangements for worship (and burial) were only

possible after the passing by Parliament of the Toleration Act in 1689. Trevelyan in his History of England (p. 476) describes this act as "a curious patchwork of compromises, illogicality, and political good sense."

On pp. 245, 246 & 247 (2nd Edn.) Redfern gave the story of the "Society of Friends" in Uttexeter. He stated that the meeting-house (recently renovated) in Carter Street was built in 1700 ; this is not quite accurate ; the order of events was that in 1703 it was decided to build the meeting-house, as Robert Heath of Tean had given one messuage house for the benefit of "the people called Quakers", the trustees were Walter Pixley, John Alsop, Richard Bowman, and Thomas Shipley. The house was to be a public meeting-house for the worship of God ; and part of the land belonging thereto was to be set apart for a burying place for the aforesaid people. George Fox, founder of the "Society of Friends" is quoted in "The Burial Grounds of the Society of Friends in Staffordshire" by D. G. Stuart, as replying to criticisms of Quaker burial customs thus : "You all say that we Bury like Dogs, because we have not superfluous and needless things upon our coffin and a white and black cloth with Scutcheons and do not go in black and hang Scarfs upon our Hats and white Scarfs over our shoulder and give gold rings and have sprigs of Rosemary in our hands and Ring the Bells. How dare you say we Bury our People like Dogs because we cannot Bury them after the vain Poms and Glory of the World?"

Quaker Burial Grounds were provided to keep their funeral customs as plain as possible ; cases of burials in family gardens are on record ; in addition to the graveyard in Carter Street (where, among others, the graves of Samuel Botham, father of Mary Howitt, and of Harrison Alderson, an American relative, are to be seen). Their two gravestones are now laid flat, but there were a number of burials without gravestones as some Quakers disapproved even of such memorials.

In addition to this graveyard there was, as Redfern relates, a gift of a small piece of land at Stramshall, by William Heath of Kingsley. The plot was only twenty yards long and twelve yards wide ; Redfern's placing of this seems not to be quite correct ; it was further down Stramshall Hollow, even possibly on the south side. Mr. T. Mellor of Hill Top Farm told

Mr. Stuart that he remembers seeing low mounds of earth, which his father identified as Quaker graves. Hill Top lies on the south side of the road, so the location is still uncertain. But Redfern says that men excavating for marl found two lead coffins which they cut up and sold. It seems that the Quaker ownership of the plot was allowed to lapse. Redfern thought "it was a pity that the place was not enclosed or marked as a site sacred to the dead."

We are indebted to Mr. D. G. Stuart for much of this information ; it is hoped that after further research, a more definite location may be found.

There is also some doubt about the date of erection of the Carter Street meeting house ; it was approved in 1703, but not completed until 1706 ; the cost was £51 /13 /9 ; this being partly subscribed by Friends at Stafford, Uttoxeter, Stramshall, Leek, and Chesterfield, near Lichfield. Walter Pixley made a loan of £14 /8 /9 towards the cost. His name is intriguing for I have found the will of a Walter Pixley of Bromley Hurst, a small group of houses one would have thought unlikely to furnish sufficient trade for a shop.

But Walter Pixley, a webster (weaver) left the tools of his trade to his son Richard. To one of his three daughters, Elizabeth, he left 20 /-. To another daughter, Ann, he left 40 /-, and to a third, Jane, 20 /-. (There is nothing to show why these legacies differed, but they were not to be paid until two years after Walter Pixley's decease.) All the remainder was bequeathed to his loving wife Dorothy, "with this limitation and proviso, that after my decease she do keep my name and continue in her widowhood ; and if it happen she should marry again then my gift and bequest shall be utterly void."

In spite of this proviso, he appoints Dorothy to be his executrix, and wishes her to continue as such !

There are some interesting items which show the kind of life at that period led by a small farmer who was also a tradesman. He had a "milk-house", a cheese press and a dresser ; a cheese store with six cheeses ; over the cheese store was a bedroom, with a bed, "coverlid", and blanket. The list of goods mentions 1 kimnel ; Redfern elsewhere (p. 381

2nd Edn.) notes that among wooden vessels made by craftsmen were kinnels. These were water-tight vessels used for various household purposes ; they were shaped like a truncated pyramid upside-down ; the last one which I have seen (over 50 years ago) was in the wash-house of a farm. Redfern no doubt had made many such, his own trade (as a cooper) needed considerable skill to produce water-tight vessels, wooden pails with ash hoops and so on. He describes the manufacture of a wooden "piggin" or drinking mug on p. 381 noted above.

To return to the 1635 will of Walter Pixley we may add that he owned quite a large store of yarn, hemp and flax. It may well be that, as Mary Howitt's mother took her spun yarn to old Mr. Pedley the weaver, so Pixley's customers were ready to take their yarn even to a weaver whose shop was in a rather remote place. All this will recall to many readers the words which Shakespeare gives Puck to say in the "Midsummer Night's Dream" : "What hempen homespuns have we swaggering here?" — words written only about forty years before Walter Pixley's will.

To return to our account of the Lightfoot family, it is notable that several Biblical scholars of that name have distinguished themselves down to the 19th Century, one becoming Bishop of Durham in 1879. Redfern states that he had obtained information about the descendants of the Uttoxeter family from one who was alive in the 19th century, Mr. William Tomkinson Lightfoot. It can hardly be a coincidence that the name "Tomkinson" survived among the Lightfoots of that time ; that the Ashley branch of the family kept in close touch with other descendants of Thomas Lightfoot of Uttoxeter is evident for two sons were baptized at Ashley with the name Peter, and this name occurs there as late as 1715 ; moreover Redfern's informant bore as his second name that of Uttoxeter Peter's son-in-law, mentioned in Peter's will. The name Ann is found both at Uttoxeter and Ashley down to 1689. It will be recalled that Peter Lightfoot's daughter was Ann. There was also a John Lightfoot at Ashley in 1834, who held the office of Parish Clerk, followed by William Lightfoot, who was Parish Clerk in 1850. Curiously too (though it may not be significant) a Peter Lightfoot was living at Barlaston in the same year, and was described in the Post Office Directory as an Engraver.

We conclude our account of this quite remarkable family with two items of interest ; first, one would have expected that a name of such distinction as John Lightfoot with his international reputation as a Hebrew Scholar would have had some sort of memorial in the town where he was brought up, and where his father worked so faithfully for 36 years ; at present there is no such memorial in any public place, and it is suggested that this omission should be corrected and a memorial erected in some place where it is known that he must have passed many scores of times.

The second item refers to some of the entries to be found in the Church Registers at Ashley ; these are not the routine recordings of Parochial Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, for we find also matters which are not always the concern of Ashley Church though of great interest to modern readers. He set down the visit of Dr. John Overall, Bishop, to Uttoxeter, though this would seem to have had no connection with Ashley. We have already mentioned his recording of the burial of Sir Rowland Cotton at Norton-under-Hales in 1634 ; there is here, of course, a close personal connection, for John Lightfoot owed much to the fact that Sir Rowland Cotton had not only appointed him as Household Chaplain, but had by his own Hebrew studies encouraged his protégé to revive his neglected study of the same, and so to reach the high level of international reputation for the Hebrew scriptures. In addition, Sir Rowland Cotton had followed his father William as a landowner in Uttoxeter during John Lightfoot's youth, as shown in the old Church map.

In 1636 there is a record of a serious outbreak of plague (this was rife more than once before the Great Plague year 1665) in London, Cambridge, and Newcastle-on-Tyne ; about 600 persons died in one week in London alone.

John Lightfoot was not the only religious student from Uttoxeter in that century to attain high office.

Some time ago, a local lady returned from a visit to Canterbury Cathedral and reported to me that she had noticed a Latin memorial on the wall of the nave which contained the name "Uttoxeter". Now Redfern, on p. 282

of his 2nd Edn., has a short paragraph about Rev. John Turner, D.D., giving a few details of his career, and his connections with Trinity College, Cambridge, Blackheath, Greenwich, Lincoln, and Canterbury, where he was Canon. He died in 1720 at the age of 60. All this information is in the Latin memorial which had been mentioned to me ; Redfern must have obtained a translation, and added that he had traced the tenant of a house between the Market Place and the narrow Back Lane (a name now erroneously given to that part of Derby Road alongside Alleyne's Grammar School). Redfern states that Turner's house was owned by a Mr. Middleton, but I have not been able to confirm this, though Redfern must have discovered some evidence. But the old church map does record a Middleton's house in Back Lane, and a William Turner witnessed the deed by which a number of local gentlemen undertook to carry out the terms of Ann Blount's will under special arrangements with Walter Mynors in 1616. But Cambridge records give *Richard* Turner as father of John Turner, who was born in 1660. I have said that Redfern gives the main points of the Canterbury memorial correctly, as I have checked by copying the whole.

But John Turner, D.D., has another tie with Uttoxeter ; the University record to which I have referred above states that he had been taught at Alleyne's Grammar School, Uttoxeter, by John Newman, and indeed an old board with a list of masters elected from 1674 does exist at Alleyne's and does begin with John Newman's name 1674, followed by an authentic list supplied by Trinity College, Cambridge, when the old school in Bridge Street was superseded by the present building with its Trinity Coat of Arms above the old doorway and a stone recording that the school was "restored" in 1859. What these memorials do not record is that John Newman, M.A., Scholar and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was appointed when Rev. Lawrence Dawson, M.A., likewise Scholar and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Rector of Bramshall, died in 1674. We have nothing to show that the latter had acted as Master of Alleyne's, but the coincidence of dates seems to indicate that Lawrence Dawson (who employed Thomas Becch as Curate at Bramshall from 1659 - 1674) acted as such.

There may have been difficulties for Trinity College to carry out their supervisory trustee duties during the Civil

War and Protectorate, and they may have enlisted one of their old alumni living here to carry on the school. We have records of masters appointed during the reign of Elizabeth, so that the Master and Fellows of Trinity College did indeed act as Trustees of Thomas Alleyne's Foundation until political troubles may have caused them to apply locally to Lawrence Dawson for help. It is evident that John Newman provided at least one pupil with the opportunity of a distinguished career, for the Canterbury Memorial records (as Redfern also relates) that he was outstanding in piety, religious knowledge, and personal manners ; and in the list of admissions to Trinity College (Rouse Ball) we find this entry : Turner, John, son of Richard Turner. Born at Uttoxeter, Staffordshire. Pupil there of Mr. Newman. Age 16. Sizar June 19, 1676. Tutor, Mr. Weld. Matriculated 1676 ; Scholar 1679 ; B.A. 1679 /80 ; M.A. 1683 ; D.D. 1706.

The fact that Thomas Beech (who had married a daughter of the Warner family at Bramshall) left to become incumbent of Fradswell when Lawrence Dawson died seems to confirm that the extra income from Alleyne's enabled Dawson to employ a curate.

Redfern quite rightly gives details of the lives of a number of local worthies, making up Chap. VI p. 256 - p. 279, 2nd Edn. ; and he also notes at length prominent local families in Ch. VIII p. 316 - p. 344, 2nd Edn. But accounts have been given here of Uttoxeter men who lived and worked in the early and middle parts of the 17th century, when great national events were taking place ; and as we have seen, some of these Uttoxeter men were intimately concerned with such national history ; they deserve more recognition than they have received.

We may now continue our account of the gradual expansion of the town in matters of land tenure and local trade. There is little doubt that this quiet progress was due to the geographical features of the district and consequent activities of the people ; and the occurrence of proverbial expressions which sum up such features. "In April Dove's flood, Is worth a king's good", is an example ; "this land will fatten a bullock an acre" is another. Indeed, the renewal of agriculture as

the main activity and the replacement of home industries, e.g. nailmaking in Stone Road, or Tinker's Lane, or iron working in Smithy Lane (this name was due to the home forges which could be found there long before the "Smithfield" cattle market was laid out in 1853 ; it owes its name not to the accidental proximity of the cottage "smithies", but to the name of the great space near St. Paul's in London, scene of the martyrdom of many Protestants under Mary I and later used as a meat market. The Uttoxeter Cattle Market was named, as happened to many similar Markets in England, when the name came into general use. Smithy Lane (in the vernacular — leen) is thus an older and not vulgar name, as is often assumed.

We shall return to the question of steady growth in agriculture and a number of connected small industries in Uttoxeter during the later Stuart and early Hanoverian periods ; it has been said, with some truth, that the 18th Century was the time when English rural life was in its most pleasant state.

Even before that, two instances of prosperity may be noted ; in his Diary Pepys mentioned that the weather had been so good, especially for arable land, that farmers found themselves with a great surplus of cereals, and the export of such was being advocated ; and there is an interesting entry in the Ashley Church Register 1639, which says that the previous year had produced quite exceptional crops ; this entry probably had some connection with church matters, for the tithes would be more readily paid either in cash, or for storing in the tithe barn, in such a prosperous year.

Redfern followed his account of troubles in Derby in 1659, between the death of Cromwell and the Restoration brought about by General Monk and other Parliamentary leaders in 1660, by an estimate of the probable demands on the financial resources of the town, which he put at £250 per annum. Then he went straight on to events in the nation and in the town in 1688. King James II had issued a Declaration of Indulgence which gave freedom of worship to all sects (including Roman Catholics) who had previously been liable to fines for non-attendance at Church of England services. It was said that James did so, not because he favoured

Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, etc., but because he was bent on the restoration of Roman Catholicism, his own religion, and for a short time controlled Magdalen College, Oxford, on a Roman Catholic basis. Now, even in a small community like Uttoxeter, these plans of James, spread over three years, became well-known, and opposition was brought to a head when James charged Seven Bishops, including Archbishop Sancroft, with seditious libel when they petitioned the king not to enforce the reading of the Declaration of Indulgence from all Anglican pulpits ; in Redfern's words (p. 149 2nd Edn.) "Uttoxeter presented a scene of rejoicing such as perhaps, had not before occurred in it. It was occasioned by the release and acquittal of the Seven Bishops." He further quoted from the "History of England" (Dr. Vaughan) : "It will serve to illustrate and confirm the old accounts of the Constables at Uttoxeter, while the accounts themselves will lend corroborative evidence of the effect of the verdict of the jury upon the country in a way no other local records probably do." "The trial commenced at nine o'clock in the morning and lasted until seven in the evening. The jury then retired to consider their verdict. Some hours passed, and they did not return. At midnight, and at three o'clock, persons who stood in anxious suspense near the door of the retiring-room heard them in loud debate. This delay was occasioned by the opposition of a man named Arnold, who was brewer to the King's household. His obstinacy, however, was at length subdued by the firmness of the rest, and at six o'clock in the morning the judges were apprised that the jury were agreed. At nine o'clock the Court assembled ; the benches were covered with the nobility and gentry ; the people crowded every avenue, filling, in immense concourse, the great hall adjoining, and pressing in multitudes towards its entrance from the public streets. The foreman of the Jury, Sir Robert Langley, on the question being put whether the accused were guilty or not guilty, pronounced the verdict "not guilty". These words were no sooner uttered than the deep silence of the Court was followed by a loud shout of triumph in which persons of every rank seemed to join to the uttermost ; the verdict was echoed from the Court within to the adjoining hall, and fled with rapidity from man to man in the streets beyond. The acclamation from the populace was described at the time as a "rebellion in noise", and compared to a falling of the massy and widespread roof of the structure from which it proceeded. In a few minutes

the news and shouting reached the Temple, and in no long time spread to the Royal camp at Hounslow 10 miles distance. James, on hearing the acclamations of the soldiery, inquired what it meant", and being told by Feversham that it was nothing but the men shouting because news had come that the Bishops were acquitted, his countenance instantly fell, and in the confusion of his thoughts and emotions, he replied, "Call you that nothing? But never mind, it will be so much the worse for them". When the jury left the Court they were hailed with the most enthusiastic cheers, as the defenders of Protestantism and the deliverers of their country; while upon Bishop Cartwright, and Williams, the Solicitor General, the crowd heaped every expression of reproach and derision.

In the City all business was suspended for some hours, and men seemed to exist but to congratulate each other with tears of delight on what had happened. In the evening the bells were rung, and bonfires kindled in all parts of the Metropolis. Before the windows of the Royal Palace the Pope was burned in effigy, and the toast everywhere went round — Health to the Bishops and the Jury, and confusion to the Papists. The principal towns through the country vied with the capital in these expressions of feeling; the proudest Churchmen and every class of Dissenters seemed to be of one mind; and the parties who had done most towards urging the king to prosecute his obnoxious measures began to express their utter despair of seeing a people whose heresy partook of so much "rancour and malignity" ever brought within the fold of the Church."

This quotation, though composed in typical Victorian grand style, is justified, for Uttoxeter, a comparatively insignificant town in 1688, had its own celebrations, paid for out of Parish accounts as well as from private gifts. Bonfires were lighted in High Street, the Churchyard, and at the Market Cross. (This is shown by old pictures to have stood on the west side of the Conduit).

Altogether it is clear that Uttoxeter, or at least the more prominent citizens, understood plainly what was at stake; William of Orange was welcome because he alone stood out as the leader of the free small countries in Western Europe,

more than as being opposed to the Stuart Royal Family. Redfern relates (though he does not give the source of the story, that the country was roused by troops of men riding through all towns warning the inhabitants that a French invasion was imminent ; and states that this was really propaganda put out by the supporters of William and Mary.

Be that as it may, a nucleus of Stuart supporters, perhaps in secret, was still to be found in Uttoxeter. During the celebrations, says Redfern, the Crown (or the New Crown) situated where the entry with its old oak beams leads along by Messrs. F. M. Mellor Ltd's premises into what has (erroneously) come to be called "The Old Crown Yard". There had been an "Old Crown Yard" where Messrs. Bamford's shop stands on the opposite side of the Market Place, and where the few Stuart supporters, or Jacobites, used to meet and drink to "The King over the water", passing their tankards over glasses of water. It used to be said that the "Buffalo's Head" Inn near to the "Old Crown" was so named as a mark of contempt for the Hanoverian kings who succeeded the Stuarts. Charles Cotton, who died the year before the 1688 Revolution, in an account of a journey by coach from London to his home in Beresford Dale, just above Dovedale, tells how he arrived at Uttoxeter :

" Where on the Wednesday, being Market Day,
With some bright lads I was constrained to stay,
Drinking till afternoon."

He did not say at which Inn he "was constrained to stay", or to whose health he and his companions drank. It is possible that after the Revolution many healths were drunk "to the King over the water" ; and after William had been accidentally killed when his horse stumbled over a mole-hill, the Jacobite meetings drank a toast "to the little gentleman in the velvet jacket" ; this referred to the story about the fall over a molehill which was fatal to the royal rider. Whatever the truth of this story may be, it is just the type of event likely to be seized upon by men meeting for secret consultation and feasting ; we know, however, that if such an accident did occur, the result might well have been fatal, for William was a very sick man, worn out and lonely ; he had made arrangements for a continuation of the war against France, and chose Marlborough as Commander of the allied forces to carry out his plans — not because Marlborough was always

politically reliable, but because of his military genius. After William's death Marlborough maintained his high position through the influence his wife had over Queen Anne. After his series of victories over the French, Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706), Oudenarde (1708) and Malplaquet (1709), Marlborough lost most of his high positions, and was accused even of corresponding with the Jacobites. There is no doubt that such intrigues were not uncommon at the time, and Uttoxeter was involved in some of these. We have already mentioned that some inns, e.g. the Old Crown, the New Crown, and the Buffalo's Head, were meeting places for political purposes, and Redfern relates that on one occasion before 1745 there was a meeting at the White Hart of local gentry who were inclined to the Stuart cause. Redfern tells how an attempt to get evidence for the Government was made by a king's messenger and the local constable, named Copestake. Acting on information, they entered the White Hart banquet room where members of the Bagot and Mynors families had been dining. But warning had been given to the Jacobites, and though the ashes of burned papers were still in the grate, the tables were covered with copies of songs and other harmless papers. The Constable Copestake was despatched to Abbots Bromley to seize the Vicar's papers ; he was known to be Secretary to one of these clubs of Jacobites and the latter had established a number of associations, fox-hunters, bowling green members, etc at Lichfield, Rugeley, and other places besides Uttoxeter. But before the Constable could reach Abbots Bromley a young man of the Mynors family alerted a Mr. Cope, who lived by the roadside ; and the constable was made welcome there with strong liquor and detained until he was so drunk that he was quite unable to go on to Abbots Bromley. Meanwhile, the young Mynors messenger had reached Abbots Bromley, raised the alarm, and had the Vicar's papers removed to safety, just as the Government official arrived.

We can only guess how determined the Jacobite gentry were in their plotting ; but it is true that in 1715 when the first serious attempt to restore the Stuarts was made and for a short time the Scottish clans (except the Campbells) rose in rebellion, very few English Jacobites openly joined the movement, and James Edward, the "Old Pretender" as he came to be termed, returned defeated to France.

Though few authors appear to have noted one of the chief reasons for this Jacobite defeat, it may be stated that one cause was the lack of interest in high politics among the merchants of the cities and the ordinary trading citizens and shopkeepers in the small towns. These persons had gradually become wealthier ; the larger towns and seaports were carrying on commerce and overseas trading ; the smaller towns and villages were slowly accumulating some wealth. It is on record, for example, that even in the early 17th century, men from Uttoxeter such as William Mynors, son of Richard Mynors of Hollingbury, had already been to the East Indies eleven times before 1660. We also have records in wills of 1670 onwards, showing that many tradesmen and yeomen farmers had accumulated considerable wealth. Thus, Dorothy Warner, widow of one of the Warner family who had held manorial land at Bramshall for several centuries, owned two parks in Uttoxeter, Marchington Woodlands, and the Loxley district. Writing about 100 years later, Samuel Bentley, the Uttoxeter poet, speaks of the fertile pastures and cattle of the flat land in the Dove Valley, and the produce of the arable lands at higher levels. Although transport and road maintenance were not wholly satisfactory, there were connections with London (e.g. Charles Cotton's journey mentioned above) and in the year 1689 (when James II fled) we find that Matthew Bakewell was a London carrier who owned seven horses. On a previous page we have noted that in the later years of the 17th Century, Uttoxeter had several Mercer's shops, indicating some considerable trade in superior clothing. One mercer was related to Katharine Mastergent ; another who died in 1696, George Stubbings, was worth £858 according to the valuation made for his will ; and a third tradesman mercer, Francis Sherwin, whose will was dated 1686, left £816.

We can assume also that there had been a great increase in farming profits ; by the end of the Stuart period and during the early years of the 18th century, two men had aided the great improvement made in agriculture, Coke of Norfolk, and Charles Townshend, the latter being the great advocate of crop rotation made possible by the introduction of turnips ; he had earlier taken an important part in politics, but retired and devoted himself to agriculture, being nick-named "Turnip Townshend". Uttoxeter, like most towns of agricultural industry, had once carried on under the field system ; we find references to the Botham Field, the Woodfield, and the

Bromshulf Field in the early 1600's ; townsmen held strips in these fields to ensure as even a sharing of good or poor land as was possible. We find little note of these in the next century, but many field names are known as "closes", where land was fenced off and farmed by one owner or tenant. Some of these old names have come down to the present day ; as, for example, Bank Close, by the goods railway yard, Heath Close, the Rye Croft, the Brook Furlong alongside the railway station ; all these occur in the 1629 Survey, and still exist. These enclosures not only enabled a tenant or owner to prevent all kinds of losses, but to ensure that a good strain of breeding stock could be kept uncontaminated. Moreover, when good permanent pasture had replaced poor grass or weeds, animals flourished better than before, and the chance to rotate crops which the introduction of turnips, clover etc. made possible, avoided the complete absence of produce from land left fallow. If we look a little further ahead to the time of Jethro Tull (1674 - 1741) inventor of the machine for drilling seed, or to that of Robert Bakewell (1725 - 1795) whose breeding methods vastly improved the main types of sheep and cattle, we need not be surprised to find that more prosperity could be found in such districts as Uttoxeter.

There is actual evidence of what an able farmer could make his farm pay, for Mr. Mercer, a native of Abbots Bromley, fortunately has the carefully compiled accounts for the period 1766 - 1815, kept by his great-great-grandfather William Tompson. This information is quoted by Miss Rice, author of "Abbots Bromley" on p. 218 of her book.

These accounts show that the income from the farm of 168 acres, after paying all taxation and other dues, was £90 per annum from 1773 - 1777 ; allowing for the value of the pound, this was a handsome profit, and though it fell to £60 per annum for the period 1790 - 1794, this was due to an increase in rent, war charges, etc. and £60 clear was still a very good income. There was one drawback to enclosure, which encouraged the formation of larger family yeomen units at the expense of smaller independent farm owners or tenants, and discouraged the sturdy type whose share of the newly enclosed land was too small to allow

self-contained social family units. The new type of depressed rural paupers led to the growth of towns, where the demand for factory labour was arising. However, it is probable that at no time before or since this period has the English countryside presented such a delightful picture ; wealthy landowners saw to it that their woodlands, acres of ploughland, pasture and meadow were well preserved, and though land labour was wearisome, it could be healthy, and was really preferable to the sordid appearance of the factory town dwellers. So the time when the Stuart supporters might have restored the old regime with its tendency to dictatorial government had passed. We have noted that the attempt of James Edward, son of James II and known as the Chevalier de St. George, was not supported by many Jacobites in England, though there were a number of nominal Jacobites in Uttoxeter. The general cause was not only a lukewarm adherence to the Stuart principles, but a more important pre-occupation with general commercial and agricultural prosperity. Even the rural landlords were more concerned with maintaining the peaceful possession of their estates, and the local gentry, families like the Bagot, Cavendish, and others, were not ready to fight for James. Thirty years later, when in 1745 the greatest and last threat to the Hanoverian sovereignty was made by Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, or Bonnie Prince Charlie, it was only in Scotland that the Stuarts found real support. Even when the Jacobite army penetrated southward to Derby, and Uttoxeter might have become involved in rebellion, resistance rather than help was forthcoming. Many owners of property and cattle in the districts between Uttoxeter, Burton, Ashbourne and Derby hid both treasure and animals. Redfern records a number of events on pp. 151 et seq. of his 2nd Edn. The Hanoverian army under the Duke of Cumberland, son of George II, was gathering in the Midlands to prevent the Jacobites from reaching London, and the Duke actually stayed at Uttoxeter House (now erroneously called the Manor House) for two nights, guarded only by a single troop of horse ; this fact in itself shows how little the danger of a wide Jacobite rising was expected, and even though the Scots invading army had about 5,000 men, it was certain that England could vastly outnumber this force. But the Scottish base at Derby sent out foragers and as the Duke of Cumberland's force was still being assembled, the local population was alarmed. Redfern recorded that some years later buried treasures were occasionally found. He also quotes from ballads composed (not always in the choicest

language) to preserve the memories of the exploits by which the Scots were foiled. According to one account a party of Highlanders had penetrated from Derby to Scropton but, were scared by seeing what they thought to be a line of red-coated Royal Army soldiers ; these supposed soldiers were, so the story ran, a number of women who had covered themselves with their red petticoats because it was raining. Another story tells of Highlanders who entered a farmhouse and stole the carcase of a newly slaughtered pig, and a number of pig-puddings, which it was customary to make from the pig's blood on such occasions ; the story goes on to tell how again the foraging Scots were dispersed by what they took for a red-coated troop of English soldiers, in reality more women covered by their red petticoats. The fleeing invaders were said to have jumped over a heap of manure in the farmyard, and to have fallen headlong into a cesspool.

Whatever the truth of these tales, there seems to be no doubt about the hurried burial of valuables near Knypersley, for at least two deposits of coins were dug up by farmworkers some years later ; and members of the Cope family were said by their descendants to have driven farm stock into the cover of neighbouring coppices where they escaped the foraging parties.

The facts are that Prince Charles, on the advice of his officers, who saw little hope of success against the Duke of Cumberland's men, only remained two days in Derby before retreating by the route on which he had come ; that is, the homeward march of the Highlanders was by Ashbourne, Leek, and Macclesfield to Manchester, Carlisle, and Scotland.

One episode is related by Redfern about a party of Highlanders passing near Ellastone, the story appearing in the "Reliquary". A farmhouse was entered and provisions were demanded, but the farmer, Roger Smith, had driven his stock into a hidden ravine. The marauders noticed some reeling pegs, used for home spinning, and thought them some form of pistol ammunition. They refused to set the farm inhabitants free until some women demonstrated the use of these implements. Redfern tells that he heard the account of buried valuables from a great grandson of Roger Smith, who lived at Rocester, and still owned a pewter dish which had been saved in 1745, and which still bore the initials R - M - S, i.e. Roger and Martha Smith.

There is too, an amusing story of a farmer in the Leek district, who had a number of bottles of home-brewed ale — many households brewed for their own use until well into the 19th century. To save these from being stolen by the Highlanders, he determined to bury them under the flagstones of his stable. However, on the advice of an old lady neighbour, he buried the bottles instead in a large manure heap, where they remained until all danger was past. When the bottles were recovered the ale was found to be excellently preserved, and an old man who watched bottle after bottle being taken from the hiding place is said to have exclaimed to the owner, “Mester, dun yo think they’ve bred i’- th’- hole?”

Some authenticity is given to the story by the statement in the “Reliquary” — I have now before me an old stone bottle, some eight inches high, light in colour, and bearing upon it the words “SACK 1640”. It possesses some little interest and claims connection with the stirring times of the Rebellion of ’45.”

There is another legend regarding the Duke of Cumberland’s stay in Uttoxeter ; though Redfern was unable to find any documentary evidence, he referred to the story that the Duke, in return for the hospitality shown to him, granted the town exemption from having troops billeted upon it. Mary Howitt’s father is said to have confirmed this, and it is indeed true that during the long wars with France from 1793 until after the final victory of Waterloo in 1815, no soldiers were billeted on Uttoxeter, nor were any French prisoners-of-war confined here. Redfern also quotes a story that John Byrd, the landlord of the inn now known as the “Wellington” (in 1745 it was called the “Farmers’ Arms”) had put up a number of the Duke’s bodyguard, and in return was granted certain privileges in connection with Uttoxeter Market. (How far the Duke of Cumberland had power to make such a grant is doubtful).

But the Byrds were an ancient Uttoxeter family ; one ancestor is mentioned in the will of Dorothy Warner in 1673, and farmed the land on the north side of Byrd’s Lane, later

known as "Lambert's Park". John Byrd, the last of these farmers died about the turn of the century, and his daughter was a member of the choir of the Heath Church in 1894.

The rectangular shape of the fields of this farm indicate that enclosure of park land must have occurred. This process of enclosure accounts for the arrangement of hedges in many fields around the town, though it seems that the enclosures of the great town fields already referred to, took place gradually.

It is on record that in 1629 the "waste" land on the Heath amounted to 64 acres, and had been "common" land on which citizens could turn their cattle, sheep, and pigs. But the manorial survey of 1629 and particularly the marginal additions which show changes not many years after that date, records a number of enclosures in what had been park land from the middle ages onward. It would appear that a number of fields near the main streets and behind the houses were the first enclosures, probably bought when the syndicate referred to on p. 12 of Part IV of this work disposed of the manorial lands "piece-meal". Thus Edward Moore is listed as owning one close of over two acres at Redhill; Isabel Startyn had a small enclosed field of just $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres on Balance Hill; yet "four lands" there are set down as "common"; evidently enclosures were not completed even near the town. Still it is reasonable to suppose that the many small "closes" near the town accounted for the existence of small barns and lofts behind many houses in Balance Street and elsewhere; some of these had rounded holes through which hay could be unloaded and used in winter for feeding cattle and horses. This storage of animals helped butchers such as the Aboll family of Bridge Street (where the Green Bus depot is now situated) to provide fresh meat; previously there had been mass killing of animals in October, if the owner had more than he could provide for through the winter. The meat was salted, or preserved by "powdering" with salt, pepper, or mustard in tubs. Meat for provisioning ships on a long voyage was preserved in this way for many years; some sailors gave their meat ration various jocular names, usually connected with current events; thus salt-junk or salt-horse was seaman's slang for salt beef, and the name "Fanny Adams" was a navy humorous term for many years.

The enclosing of large areas had to be authorised by Acts of Parliament, and when carried out, though beneficial as we have seen in the resulting improvement in agriculture, bore heavily on those who were entitled only to small shares of the area ; many men who had such small shares were soon landless as they had to sell their allotted fields to the owners of larger farms, and so there arose a class of farm workers whose wages were very low, and their wealthier neighbours made use of poor law rates to provide a supplement to what were really starvation wages. In this way a process which had been slowly producing independent, if not very large, farms in Tudor and Stuart times, was responsible for the formation of large farms and estates of the "squirearchy". We have a clear example of this gradual change in Uttoxeter district spreading over two centuries and more. About 1260 the land near the "Three Tuns" inn had been granted (as we have recorded on pp. 32 and 33 of Part II of this work) to Adam the Hunter ; this land, known as the "Heath Spot" was largely "Park" land, and even in 1629 there were only traces of a large moated house there. This "Heath Spot" in 1629 was already partly enclosed ; the manorial survey shows that "Tinset" Park (the western portion of Heath Spot) had one area of 7 acres enclosed and held by John Durose ; Richard Startin is set down as holding "one close adjoining to the Heath called the Heath Spot, part of Tinset Park" containing 7 acres 3 roods ; Edward Bott had "one barn and six closes of pasture, arable, and meadow ground lying together in Tinset Park said to be copyhold" ; this area had over 25 acres, evidently the beginning of a small self-contained farm.

We have already recorded that enclosure of land had proceeded gradually from the early years of the 17th Century ; reference was made to a number of "closes" on the Heath, especially in Tynset Park. These enclosures seem to have been confined to such park closes until about 1800. At this time all the remaining "common" land on the Heath was surveyed and divided among the various claimants by Samuel Botham, who was employed later in the surveying and enclosing of the remains of Needwood Forest. He was not only a good surveyor, but a fair-minded Quaker, and his distribution of the enclosed lands appears to have satisfied all concerned.

Uttoxeter had previously several large "open fields", where different strips were held according to the medieval customs. One of these was along the present Ashbourne Road and was known as the "Botham Field"; another stretched from Smithy Lane as far as the Bramshall Park boundary and was known as the "Bromshulf Field". The part finally enclosed by Samuel Botham must have lain between these "Fields".

John Shawcross, described as a gentleman, held various fields as far apart as Scounslow Green and the Bramshall field; but he also had "one close of pasture lying in Tinset Park", the area again being just over 7 acres. Walter Mynors owned "Three closes of pasture in Tinset Park, called George's Parks, bought by Mr. Rowland Manlove"; this was rented by Peter Lightfoot and contained 39 acres. George's Park (some records have "Parkes") occurs in a number of records, one being in the will of Dorothy Warner (1673) who appears to have become the owner by purchasing the land from John Lightfoot, the Cambridge University Vice-Chancellor, and his brother Peter. I have been unable to trace any will of Rev. Thomas Lightfoot, Vicar of Uttoxeter until 1653, but as John Lightfoot had left the Uttoxeter district some years before, it seems probable that John and Peter came into possession by a joint legacy from their father. Alternatively, it is possible that John and Peter had made a joint investment, for by 1673 Peter had inherited considerable wealth from his aunt, Katharine Mastergent, and doubtless John was in a position to have money to invest. That other enclosures were made as early as from 1629 onwards, can be gathered from the M. S. book already mentioned in this work.

Some plots of enclosed land appear to have been sold to small farmers by the Mynors family in different areas of the district, though one would have supposed that this ancient family were not forced by any financial loss to part with any property. The 1629 survey already stated that Walter Mynors "held divers messuages, lands, and tenements in this manor which are all now sold." The mansion at the top of Dove Bank where Mr. Wood entertained King Charles I in 1642 had been bought from the Mynors lands, and the town paid for preparing the house for the royal visitor. Land next to this mansion had been enclosed and was known as the "Horse

Close". The survey also records that Mr. Wood had bought "One close of meadow called the Amber land", i.e. land which was low-lying and so apt to be flooded ; this was the present level industrial area on the west side of the site of former Churnet Valley railway.

Rowland Cotton owned "one close of pasture divided into two parts called the Flats, containing over 19 acres." There was also adjoining one close of meadow containing five acres, and a large close of pasture which extended to twenty-two acres ; a short note, which must have been added later than 1629, says that these were bought by Mr. Will Cotton.

In another area near the town four closes totalling thirty-one acres adjoining "Jackmires" were bought by Thomas Smyth ; this person was a cousin of Katharine Mastergent, and in addition to owning land he had a Mercer's shop in the town.

Many other instances where closes of land sold by Walter Mynors to members of what was a new class of landowners, confirm the gradual changes in agriculture already noted.

It has been said that the English countryside, and this is true of many areas like the Uttoxeter district, was more picturesque during the 18th century than ever before or since. Most large estates were owned by squires of the type described by Addison, Steele, Fielding and other writers ; Sir Roger de Coverley is pictured as in some ways the ideal country land-owner, ready to take at least a simple part in county matters, and having happy mutual relations with his tenants and servants. No doubt there were many squires of a different character, but Addison and Steele regarded such a squire both as a type of man who did occur, and in any case who ought to have existed. Perhaps Henry Fielding gives the most accurate idea of rural conditions, hunting squires, pig-keeping parsons, a beautiful countryside with the hedgerows and woodlands (the latter well guarded by gamekeepers) well supplied with wild flowers which flourished on the banks and verges of the divisions between the newly enclosed lands. The result of these changes as we have seen above was that

many rural workmen lost their places as part of the rural areas, while others more fortunate carried on the corn-growing, cattle rearing, and laborious but happy and fairly prosperous yeoman life. It happened that just at this period of the 18th century home industries were gradually passing to the larger factory towns. We have seen that in Uttoxeter cottage industries, especially in iron, timber, spinning and weaving, all improved the lot of families descended from some poorer folk of the previous centuries.

Of course this was, like local enclosing, not always a sudden event. The dividing of common lands by consent of Parliament was soon carried out, but we have noted that prior to that, many fields (often enclosed from parks or portions of parks) were owned or rented by men who increased the outlet of produce. Men of the squire class were the Mynors, the Harts, the Manloves, Cottons, Flyers, Kynnersleys, Blounts, etc. Others, quite prosperous, were regarded by the "Gentlemen" as being only of yeoman class; such were Richard Startin (89 acres), the Chamberlain family (39 acres), John Mottram (18 acres), Thomas, William and Edward Gilbert (38 acres), Henry Gray (related by marriage to Lawrence Dawson, the Curate, later Vicar of Uttoxeter, and later still Rector of Bramshall) had 14 acres, Richard Bakewell (30 acres), and many other smallholders. Perhaps the most interesting holders of land, calling themselves and being termed "gentlemen" by their fellow townsmen, were Luke Busby (whose family were close friends of Thomas Alleyne 80 years earlier, and who paid £10 rather than accept knight-hood at the Coronation of Charles I) and who had 92 acres of land near the site of the present railway goods station, John Milward, called Esquire, who had 36 acres, divided into four closes, which he had bought from Walter Mynors before 1629; Thomas Alsop, who owned 24 acres, having bought some from Mr. Kynnersley and some from Mr. Fern (one close was in Timber Lane, which must have been so named even before 1629); Thomas Rugeley, called "gentleman" in the survey, who owned lands called "closes" and "crofts" lying on the border of Uttoxeter Manor and Marchington, amounting to 16 acres. It is interesting to note that some fields in such an out-of-the-way area were already named "closes".

Distributed by H. M. Bowring, Market Place, Uttoxeter.

Published by W. G. Torrance, Uttoxeter.